
Metric Distortion Under Probabilistic Voting

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Abstract

1 Metric distortion in social choice provides a framework for assessing how well
2 voting rules minimize social cost in scenarios where voters and candidates exist
3 in a shared metric space, with voters submitting rankings and the rule outputting
4 a single winner. We expand this framework to include probabilistic voting. Our
5 extension encompasses a broad range of probability functions, including widely
6 studied models like Plackett-Luce (PL) and Bradley-Terry, and a novel "pairwise
7 quantal voting" model inspired by quantal response theory. We demonstrate that
8 distortion results under probabilistic voting better correspond with conventional
9 intuitions regarding popular voting rules such as Plurality, Copeland, and Random
10 Dictator (RD) than those under deterministic voting. For example, in the PL model
11 with candidate strength inversely proportional to the square of their metric distance,
12 we show that Copeland's distortion is at most 2, whereas that of RD is $\Omega(\sqrt{m})$ in
13 large elections, where m is the number of candidates. This contrasts sharply with
14 the classical model, where RD beats Copeland with a distortion of 3 versus 5 [1].

15 1 Introduction

16 Societies must make decisions collectively; different agents often have conflicting interests, and the
17 choice of the mechanism used for combining everyone's opinions often makes a big difference to the
18 outcome. The machine learning community has applied social choice principles for AI alignment
19 [2, 3], algorithmic fairness [4, 5], and preference modelling [6, 7]. Over the last century, there has
20 been increasing interest in using computational tools to analyse and design voting rules [8–11]. One
21 prominent framework for evaluating voting rules is that of *distortion* [12], where the voting rule has
22 access to only the *ordinal* preferences of the voters. However, the figure of merit is the sum of all
23 voters' *cardinal* utilities (or costs). The distortion of a voting rule is the worst-case ratio of the cost of
24 the alternative it selects and the cost of the truly optimal alternative.

25 An additional assumption is imposed in *metric distortion* [1] – that the voters and candidates all lie in
26 a shared (unknown) metric space, and costs are given by distances (thus satisfying non-negativity
27 and triangular inequality). This model is a generalization of a commonly studied *spatial model of*
28 *voting* in the Economics literature [13, 14], and has a natural interpretation of voters liking candidates
29 with a similar ideological position across many dimensions. While metric distortion is a powerful
30 framework and has led to the discovery and re-discovery of interesting voting rules (e.g. Plurality
31 Veto [15] and the study of Maximal Lotteries [16] for metric distortion by Charikar et al. [17]), its
32 outcomes sometimes do not correspond with traditional wisdom around popular voting rules. For
33 example, the overly simple *Random Dictator (RD)* rule (where the winner is the top choice of a
34 uniform randomly selected voter) beats the *Copeland* rule (which satisfies the Condorcet Criterion
35 [10] and other desirable properties) with a metric distortion of 3 versus 5 [1].

36 While not yet adopted in the metric distortion framework, there is a mature line of work on
37 *Probabilistic voting (PV)* [18–20]. Here, the focus is on the behavioural modelling of voters and
38 accounting for the randomness of their votes. Two sources of this randomness often cited in the
39 literature are the boundedness of the voters' rationality and the noise in their estimates of candidates'
40 positions. A popular model for this behaviour is based on the *Quantal Response Theory* [20]. Another
41 closely related line of work is on Random Utility Models (RUMs) [21–23] in social choice where

42 the hypothesis is that the candidates have ground-truth strengths. Voters make noisy observations of
 43 these strengths and vote accordingly. We adopt these models of voting behaviour and study it within
 44 the metric distortion framework. The questions we ask are:

- 45 *Given a model of probabilistic voting, what is the metric distortion of popular voting rules?*
 46 *How does this differ (qualitatively and quantitatively) from the deterministic model?*

47 1.1 Preliminaries and Notation

48 Let \mathcal{N} be a set of n voters and \mathcal{A} be the set of m candidates. Let \mathcal{S} be the set of total orders on \mathcal{A} .
 49 Each voter $i \in \mathcal{N}$ has a preference ranking $\sigma_i \in \mathcal{S}$. A vote profile is a set of preference rankings
 50 $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}} = (\sigma_1, \dots, \sigma_n) \in \mathcal{S}^n$ for all voters. The tuple $(\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{A}, \sigma_{\mathcal{N}})$ defines an instance of an election. Let
 51 $\Delta(\mathcal{A})$ denote the set of all probability distributions over the set of candidates.

52 **Definition 1** (Voting Rule). *A voting rule $f : \mathcal{S}^n \rightarrow \Delta(\mathcal{A})$ takes a vote profile $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}$ and outputs a*
 53 *probability distribution p over the alternatives.*

54 For deterministic voting rules, we overload notation by saying that the rule’s output is a candidate
 55 and not a distribution. We now define some voting rules [10]. Let \mathbb{I} denote the indicator function.

56 **Random Dictator Rule:** Select a voter uniformly at random and output their top choice, i.e.,
 57 $\text{RD}(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}) = p$ such that $p_j = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}} \mathbb{I}(\sigma_{i,1} = j)$.

58 **Plurality Rule:** Choose the candidate who is the top choice of the most voters, i.e., $\text{PLU}(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}) =$
 59 $\arg \max_{j \in \mathcal{A}} \sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}} \mathbb{I}(\sigma_{i,1} = j)$. Ties are broken arbitrarily.

60 **Copeland Rule:** Choose the candidate who wins the most pairwise comparisons, i.e., $\text{COP}(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}) =$
 61 $\arg \max_{j \in \mathcal{A}} \sum_{j' \in \mathcal{A} \setminus \{j\}} \mathbb{I}(\sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}} \mathbb{I}(j \succ_{\sigma_i} j') > \frac{n}{2})$. Ties are broken arbitrarily.

62 Distance function $d : (\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})^2 \rightarrow \mathbb{R}_{\geq 0}$ satisfies triangular inequality ($d(x, y) \leq d(x, z) + d(z, y)$)
 63 and symmetry ($d(x, y) = d(y, x)$). The distance between voter $i \in \mathcal{N}$ and candidate $j \in \mathcal{A}$ is also
 64 referred to as the *cost* of j for i . We consider the most commonly studied social cost function, which
 65 is the sum of the costs of all voters. $SC(j, d) := \sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}} d(i, j)$.

66 In deterministic voting, the preference ranking σ_i of voter i is consistent with the distances. That is,
 67 $d(i, j) > d(i, j') \implies j' \succ_{\sigma_i} j$ for all voters $i \in \mathcal{N}$ and candidates $j, j' \in \mathcal{A}$. Let $\rho(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}})$ be the set
 68 of distance functions d consistent with vote profile $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}$. The metric distortion of a voting rule is:

69 **Definition 2** (Metric Distortion). $\text{DIST}(f) = \sup_{\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{A}, \sigma_{\mathcal{N}}} \sup_{d \in \rho(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}})} \frac{\mathbb{E}[SC(f(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}), d)]}{\min_{j \in \mathcal{A}} SC(j, d)}$.

70 1.2 Our Contributions

71 We extend the study of metric distortion to probabilistic voting (Definition 4). This extension is useful
 72 since voters, in practice, have been shown to vote randomly [20]. We define axiomatic properties
 73 of models of probabilistic voting which are suitable for studying metric distortion. These are scale-
 74 freeness with distances (Axiom 1), pairwise order probabilities being independent of other candidates
 75 (Axiom 2), and strict monotonicity of pairwise order probabilities in distances (Axiom 3).

76 All our results apply to a broad class of models of probabilistic models, as explained in § 2. We
 77 provide distortion bounds for all $n \geq 3$ and $m \geq 2$, which are most salient in the limit $n \rightarrow \infty$. For
 78 large elections (m fixed, $n \rightarrow \infty$), we provide matching upper and lower bounds on the distortion of
 79 Plurality, an upper bound for Copeland, and a lower bound for RD. The distortion of plurality grows
 80 linearly in m . The distortion upper bound of Copeland is constant. The distortion lower bound for
 81 RD increases sublinearly in m where this rate depends on the probabilistic model. Crucially, our
 82 results match those in deterministic voting in the limit where the randomness goes to zero.

83 The technique is as follows. For the problem of maximizing the distortion, we establish a critical
 84 threshold of the expected fraction of votes on pairwise comparisons on all edges on a directed path
 85 from a winner to the “true optimal” candidate for Copeland and Plurality. This path is one or two hops
 86 for Copeland and one for Plurality. We then formulate a linear-fractional program which incorporates
 87 this critical threshold. We linearize this program via the sub-level sets technique [24], and find a
 88 feasible solution of the dual problem. Concentration inequalities on this solution provide an upper
 89 bound on the distortion. We find a matching lower bound for Plurality by construction.

90 1.3 Related Work

91 **Metric distortion** Anshelevich et al. [1] initiated the study of metric distortion and showed that
92 any deterministic voting rule has a distortion of at least 3 and that Copeland has a distortion of 5.
93 The Plurality Veto Rule attains the optimal distortion of 3 [15]. Charikar and Ramakrishnan [25]
94 showed that any randomized voting rule has a distortion of at least 2.112. Charikar et al. [17] gave
95 a randomized voting rule with a distortion of at most 2.753. Anshelevich et al. [26] gave a useful
96 review on distortion in social choice.

97 **Distortion with Additional Information** Abramowitz et al. [27] showed that deterministic voting
98 rules achieve a distortion of 2 when voters provide preference strengths as ratios of distances.
99 Amanatidis et al. [28] demonstrated that even a few queries from each voter can significantly improve
100 distortion in non-metric settings. Anshelevich et al. [29] examined threshold approval voting, where
101 voters approve candidates with utilities above a threshold. Our work relates to these studies since in
102 probabilistic voting, the likelihood of a voter switching the order of two candidates depends on the
103 relative strength of their preference, often resulting in lower distortion than deterministic methods.

104 **Probabilistic voting and random utility models (RUMs)** Hinich [30] showed that the celebrated
105 Median Voter Theorem of [31] does not hold under probabilistic voting. Classical work has focused
106 on studying the equilibrium positions of voters and/or candidates in game-theoretic models of
107 probabilistic voting [20, 32–35]. McKelvey and Patty [20] adopt the quantal response model, a
108 popular way to model agents’ bounded rationality.

109 RUMs have mostly been studied in social choice [21, 23, 36] with the hypothesis that candidates have
110 *universal* ground-truth strengths, which voters make noisy observations of. Our model is the same as
111 RUM regarding the voters’ behaviour; however, voters have *independent* costs from candidates. The
112 Plackett-Luce (PL) model [37, 38] has been widely studied in social choice [39–41]. For probabilities
113 on pairwise orders, PL reduces to the Bradley-Terry (BT) model [42]. These probabilities are
114 proportional to candidates’ strengths (which we define as the inverse of powers of costs).

115 The widely studied Mallows model [43], based on Condorcet [44], flips the order of each candidate
116 pair (relative to a ground truth ranking) with a constant probability $p \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$ [45, 46]. The process is
117 repeated if a linear order is not attained. In the context of metric distortion, a limitation of this model
118 is that it doesn’t account for the relative distance of candidates to the voter. For a comprehensive
119 review of RUM models, see Marden [47]. Critchlow et al. [48] does an axiomatic study of RUM
120 models; our axioms are grounded in metric distortion and are distinct from theirs.

121 Recently, there has been significant interest in smoothed analysis [49] of social choice. Here a small
122 amount of randomness is added to problem instances and its effect is studied on the satisfiability of
123 axioms [50–53] and the computational complexity of voting rules [54–56]. Baumeister et al. [50]
124 term this model as being ‘towards reality,’ highlighting the need to study the randomness in the
125 election instance generation processes. Unlike smoothed analysis where the voter and candidate
126 positions are randomized, we consider these positions fixed, but the submitted votes are random given
127 these positions. The technical difference appears in the benchmark (the “optimal” outcome in the
128 denominator of the distortion is unchanged in our framework and changes in smoothed analysis).

129 2 Axioms and Model

130 Under probabilistic voting, the submitted preferences may no longer be consistent with the underlying
131 distances. For a distribution $\mathcal{P}(d)$ over $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}$, let $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j')$ denote the induced marginal probability
132 that voter i ranks candidate j higher than j' . We focus on these marginal probabilities on pairwise
133 orders and provide axioms for classifying which $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(\cdot)$ are suitable for studying distortion.

134 **Axiom 1** (Scale-Freeness (SF)). *The probability $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(\cdot)$ must be invariant to scaling of d . That is,*
135 *for any tuple (i, j, j') and any constant $\kappa > 0$, we must have $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j') = q^{\mathcal{P}(\kappa d)}(i, j, j')$.*

136 Note that the metric distortion (Definition 2) for deterministic voting is scale-free. We want to retain
137 the same property in the probabilistic model as well. Conceptually, one may think of the voter’s
138 preferences as being a function of the relative (and not absolute) distances to the candidates.

139 **Axiom 2** (Independence of Other Candidates (IOC)). *The probability $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j')$ must be*
140 *independent of the distance of voter i to all ‘other’ candidates, i.e., those in $\mathcal{A} \setminus \{j, j'\}$.*

Table 1: Axioms satisfied by commonly studied models of probabilistic voting

	Axiom 1: SF	Axiom 2: IOC	Axiom 3: Strict Monotonicity
Mallows	✓	✗	✗
PL/BT with exponential in d	✗	✓	✓
PL/BT with powers of d	✓	✓	✓
PQV	✓	✓	✓

141 This axiom extends Luce’s choice axioms [38], defined for selecting the top choice, to entire rankings.
 142 IOC is reminiscent of the *independence of irrelevant alternatives* axiom for voting rules.

143 **Axiom 3** (Strict Monotonicity (SM)). *For every tuple (i, j, j') , for fixed distance $d(i, j) > 0$, the*
 144 *probability $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j')$ must be strictly increasing in $d(i, j')$ at all but at most finitely many points.*

145 The monotonicity in $d(i, j)$ follows since $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j', j) = 1 - q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j')$. This axiom is natural.

146 In the Mallows model [43], $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(\cdot)$ was derived by Busa-Fekete et al. [57] and is as follows:

$$\text{Mallows: } q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j') = h(r_{j'} - r_j + 1, \phi) - h(r_{j'} - r_j, \phi). \quad (1)$$

147 Here $h(k, \phi) = \frac{k}{(1-\phi^k)}$. Whereas r_j and $r_{j'}$ are the positions of j and j' in the ground-truth (noiseless)
 148 ranking, and the constant ϕ is a dispersion parameter. Observe that this model fails Axiom 2 since it
 149 depends on the number of candidates between j and j' in the noiseless ranking. It also fails Axiom 3
 150 since it does not depend on the exact distances but only on the order of the distances.

151 **Plackett-Luce Model:** The PL model [37, 38] is ‘sequential’ in the following way. For each voter
 152 $i \in \mathcal{N}$, each candidate $j \in \mathcal{A}$ has a ‘strength’ $s_{i,j}$. In most of the literature on RUMs, a common
 153 assumption is that $s_{i,j}$ is the same for all voters i . However, we choose this more general model to
 154 make it useful in the context of metric distortion. The voter chooses their top choice with probability
 155 proportional to the strengths. Similarly, for every subsequent rank, they choose a candidate from
 156 among the *remaining* ones with probabilities proportional to their strengths. In terms of the pairwise
 157 order probabilities, the PL model reduces to the Bradley-Terry (BT) model [42], that is:

$$\text{PL/BT: } q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j') = \frac{s_{i,j}}{s_{i,j} + s_{i,j'}} \quad (2)$$

158 Prima facie, in the metric distortion framework, any decreasing function of distance $d(i, j)$ would
 159 be a natural choice for $s_{i,j}$. However, not all such functions satisfy Axiom 1. The exponential
 160 function is a popular choice in the literature employing BT or PL models. However, in general,
 161 $\frac{e^{-d(i,j)}}{e^{-d(i,j)} + e^{-d(i,j')}} \neq \frac{e^{-2d(i,j)}}{e^{-2d(i,j)} + e^{-2d(i,j')}}$, thus failing the Scale-Freeness Axiom 1.

162 On the other hand, observe that all functions $s = d^{-\theta}$ for any $\theta \in (0, \infty)$ satisfy our axioms. We use
 163 the regime $\theta \in (1, \infty)$ for technical simplicity in this work.

164 We also define the following class of functions ‘‘PQV’’ for $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(\cdot)$ motivated by Quantal Response
 165 Theory [58] and its use in probabilistic voting [20]. Observe that PQV satisfies all our axioms.

166 **Definition 3** (Pairwise Quantal Voting (PQV)). *Let the relative preference $r(i, j, j')$ be the ratio of*
 167 *distances, $\frac{d(i,j')}{d(i,j)}$. For constant $\lambda > 0$, PQV is as follows: $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j') = \frac{e^{-\lambda/r(i,j,j')}}{e^{-\lambda r(i,j,j')} + e^{-\lambda/r(i,j,j')}}$.*

168 We now define a general class of functions for pairwise order probabilities in terms of the relative
 169 preference (ratio of distances) r . Let \mathbf{G} be a class of functions such that any $\mathbf{G} \ni g : [0, \infty) \cup \{\infty\} \rightarrow$
 170 $[0, 1]$ has the following properties.

- 171 1. g is continuous and twice-differentiable.
- 172 2. $g(0) = 0$. Further, $g'(r) > 0 \forall r \in (0, \infty)$ i.e. $g(r)$ is strictly increasing in $[0, \infty)$.
- 173 3. Define $\frac{1}{r}$ as $+\infty$ when $r = 0$. Then we must have $g(r) + g(\frac{1}{r}) = 1 \forall r \geq 0$.
- 174 4. There $\exists c \in [0, \infty)$ s.t. $g''(r) > 0 \forall r \in (0, c)$ i.e. g is convex in the open interval $(0, c)$.

175 Observe that PL (with $g(r) = \frac{r^\theta}{1+r^\theta}, \theta > 1$) and PQV (with $g(r) = \frac{e^{-\lambda/r}}{e^{-\lambda r} + e^{-\lambda/r}}, \lambda > 0$) are in
 176 \mathbf{G} . Construction of distributions (if any exists) on rankings $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}$ which generate pairwise order

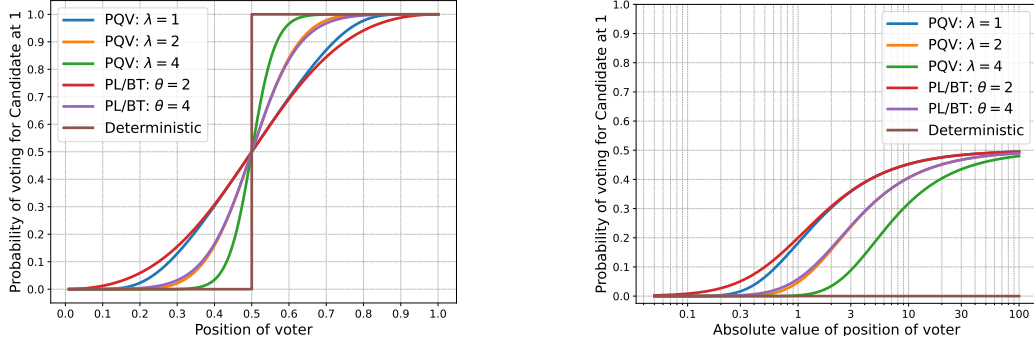


Figure 1: A 1-d Euclidean example of voting probabilities. There are two candidates at 0 and 1. The figure on the left shows the voter position between 0 and 1. In the right figure, the voter is in positions to the left of 0. As the distance grows, both candidates look similar to the voter in the probabilistic model but not in deterministic voting. The case of voter positions to the right of 1 is symmetric.

177 probabilities $q^{\mathcal{P}(d)}(i, j, j') = g\left(\frac{d(i, j')}{d(i, j)}\right)$ according to PQQV is left for future work. We do not need it
 178 for our technical derivations. For PL, these distributions are known from prior work [40].

179 We assume $g \in \mathbf{G}$ in the rest of the paper. Let $\mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})$ denote the set of valid distance functions
 180 on $(\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{A})$. For any g and $d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})$ let $\hat{\mathcal{P}}^{(g)}(d)$ denote the set of probability distributions on
 181 $\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}$ for which the marginal pairwise order probabilities are $g\left(\frac{d(i, j')}{d(i, j)}\right)$. That is,

$$\forall \mathcal{P} \in \hat{\mathcal{P}}^{(g)}(d), \sigma_{\mathcal{N}} \sim \mathcal{P} \implies \mathbb{P}[A \succ_i B] = g\left(\frac{d(i, B)}{d(i, A)}\right). \quad (3)$$

182 We assume that all voters vote independently of each other. We now define metric distortion under
 183 probabilistic voting as a function of g for a given m and n .

Definition 4 (Metric Distortion under Probabilistic Voting).

$$\text{DIST}^{(g)}(f, n, m) := \sup_{\substack{\mathcal{N}: |\mathcal{N}|=n \\ \mathcal{A}: |\mathcal{A}|=m}} \sup_{d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})} \sup_{\mathcal{P} \in \hat{\mathcal{P}}^{(g)}(d)} \frac{\mathbb{E}_{\sigma_{\mathcal{N}} \sim \mathcal{P}}[SC(f(\sigma_{\mathcal{N}}), d)]}{\min_{A \in \mathcal{A}} SC(A, d)}. \quad (4)$$

184 $\text{DIST}^{(g)}(f) = \sup_{n, m} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(f, n, m)$ by supremizing over all possible n and m .

185 The expectation is both over the randomness in the votes and the voting rule f .

186 Observe that the distortion is a supremum over all distributions in $\hat{\mathcal{P}}^{(g)}(d)$. Since we focus on large
 187 elections (with large n and relatively small m), we define $\text{DIST}^{(g)}$ as a function of m and n .

188 As in Fig. 1, consider the 1-d Euclidean space with candidate X at the origin and Y at 1. Observe
 189 that $g\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right)$ and $g\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right)$ denote the probability that a voter located at a distance x from X votes
 190 for Y when the voter is to the left and right of X respectively. Interestingly, this 1-d intuition extends
 191 well for general metric spaces. Towards this, we define the following functions.

$$g_{\text{MID}}(x) := g\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) \forall x \in (0, 1) \text{ and } g_{\text{OUT}}(x) := g\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right) \forall x \in [0, \infty). \quad (5)$$

192 **Lemma 1.** $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x)}{x}$ and $\frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x)}{x}$ have unique local maxima in $(0, 1)$ and $(0, \infty)$ respectively.

193 Denote the unique maximisers of $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x)}{x}$ and $\frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x)}{x}$ by x_{MID}^* and x_{OUT}^* respectively.

194 For simplifying notation, in the rest of the work, we use \hat{g}_{MID} for $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x_{\text{MID}}^*)}{x_{\text{MID}}^*}$ and \hat{g}_{OUT} for $\frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)}{x_{\text{OUT}}^*}$.

195 In the analysis in the rest of the paper, we will see \hat{g}_{MID} and \hat{g}_{OUT} appear many times, so we note these
 196 quantities for the PL and PQQV models here. For the PL model with $\theta = 2$, $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} = \frac{\sqrt{2}+1}{2} \approx 1.21$ and
 197 $\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} = \frac{\sqrt{2}-1}{2} \approx 0.21$. When $\theta = 4$, $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \approx 1.42$ and $\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} \approx 0.06$. When $\theta \rightarrow \infty$, $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \rightarrow 2$ and
 198 $\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} \rightarrow 0$. This limit is where PL resembles deterministic voting.

199 For PQQV with $\lambda = 1$, $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \approx 1.25$ and $\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} = 0.18$. When $\lambda \rightarrow \infty$, $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \rightarrow 2$ and $\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} \rightarrow 0$.

200 3 Distortion of Plurality Rule Under Probabilistic Voting

201 In this section, we give upper and lower bounds on the distortion of the Plurality rule [59] (PLU). In
 202 the limit the number of voters $n \rightarrow \infty$ ("large election"), our upper and lower bounds match and are
 203 linear in the number of candidates m . Let B represent the candidate that minimizes the social cost
 204 (referred to as 'best'), and let $\{A_j\}_{j \in [m-1]}$ denote the set of other candidates.

205 3.1 Upper bound on the distortion of Plurality(PLU)

206 **Theorem 1.** For every $\epsilon > 0$ and $m \geq 2$ and $n \geq m^2$ we have

$$\begin{aligned} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) &\leq m(m-1)(\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}) \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 2m}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)m}\right) \\ &\quad + \max\left(\frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)})} - 1, \frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)})} + 1\right). \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

207 Further, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \leq \max(m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)$.

208 To prove this theorem, we first give a lemma which upper bounds $\frac{SC(W, d)}{SC(B, d)}$ under the constraint
 209 that the expected number of voters that rank candidate W over B is given by α . This ratio will be
 210 useful to bound the contribution of non-optimal candidate W to the distortion of PLU. We state an
 211 optimization problem (7) below, which would be required to bound the ratio as a function of α .

$$\mathcal{E}_\alpha = \begin{cases} \min_{\mathbf{b}, \mathbf{w} \in \mathbb{R}_{\geq 0}^n} \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i} \\ \text{s.t.} \quad \sum_{i=1}^n g\left(\frac{b_i}{w_i}\right) \geq \alpha & \forall \alpha \geq 0 \\ \max_i |w_i - b_i| \leq \min_i (w_i + b_i) \end{cases} \quad (7)$$

212 **Lemma 2.** For any two candidates $W, B \in \mathcal{A}$ which satisfy $\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[W \succ_i B] = \alpha$, we have

$$\frac{SC(W, d)}{SC(B, d)} \leq \frac{1}{\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_\alpha)} \leq \max\left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, \frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1\right). \quad (8)$$

213 Our proof is via Lemmas 3 and 4. Lemma 3 shows that we can bound the ratio of social costs by the
 214 inverse of the optimum value of \mathcal{E}_α and Lemma 4 gives a lower bound on the optimum value of \mathcal{E}_α .

215 **Lemma 3.** For any two candidates $W, B \in \mathcal{A}$ satisfying $\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[W \succ_i B] = \alpha$, we have

$$\frac{SC(W, d)}{SC(B, d)} \leq \frac{1}{\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_\alpha)}. \quad (9)$$

216 *Proof.* b_i and w_i in (7) represent the distances $d(i, B)$ and $d(i, W)$. The last constraint is the triangle
 217 inequality i.e. $|d(i, B) - d(i, W)| \leq d(B, W) \leq |d(i, B) + d(i, W)|$ for every voter $i \in \mathcal{N}$. \square

218 Consider the following linearized version of (7).

$$\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha} = \begin{cases} \min_{\mathbf{w}, \mathbf{b} \in \mathbb{R}_{\geq 0}^n} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n b_i \right) - \mu \left(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i \right) \\ \text{s.t.} \quad \sum_{i=1}^n g\left(\frac{b_i}{w_i}\right) \geq \alpha & \forall 0 \leq \mu \leq 1, \alpha \geq 0. \\ |b_i - w_i| \leq 1 \quad \forall i \in [n] \\ b_i + w_i \geq 1 \quad \forall i \in [n] \end{cases} \quad (10)$$

219 **Lemma 4.** $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_\alpha) \geq \min \left(\left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1 \right)^{-1}, \left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1 \right)^{-1} \right)$.

220 Our proof uses Lemma 5 and is by solving a linearized version of (7) in (10). This is done by
 221 introducing an extra non-negative parameter $\mu \leq 1$. Note that it is sufficient to consider $\mu \leq 1$ since
 222 $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_\alpha) \leq 1$ because B minimises the social cost by definition. We find the smallest $\mu \in (0, 1)$ such
 223 that its objective is non-negative.

224 **Lemma 5.** *If $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu,\alpha}) \geq 0$, then $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_\alpha) \geq \mu$.*

225 *Further, $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu,\alpha}) \geq 0$ if $\mu = \min \left(\left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1 \right)^{-1}, \left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1 \right)^{-1} \right)$.*

226 The first part follows since scaling each term by a constant r satisfies the constraints and also yields the
 227 same objective. And thus we may replace the constraints by $\max_i |w_i - b_i| \leq 1$ and $\min_i (w_i + b_i) \geq 1$
 228 in equation (10). Further, the objective function is linearized as $(\sum_{i=1}^n b_i) - \mu (\sum_{i=1}^n w_i)$.

229 The proof of the second part is technical and has been moved to Appendix B. It involves introducing
 230 a Lagrangian multiplier λ and demonstrating that the objective function is non-negative for a suitably
 231 chosen λ . To establish this, we show that minimising the Lagrangian over the boundaries of the
 232 constraint set given by $|b_i - w_i| = 1$ and $b_i + w_i = 1$ is sufficient. This requires a careful analysis.

233 The main technique used in proving Theorem 1 involves considering two cases for every non-optimal
 234 candidate A_j : one where the expected number of voters ranking candidate A_j above B (call it α_j)
 235 exceeds a threshold of $\frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{\epsilon+1/2}}{m}$ and one where it does not. In the first case, the ratio of social costs
 236 of A_j and B is bounded using Lemma 2 that naturally gives a bound on contribution of candidate A_j
 237 to the distortion. In the later case, we use Chernoff bound to bound the probability of A_j being the
 238 winner and multiply it with the ratio of social costs of A_j and B to bound the distortion. The proof of
 239 Theorem 1 is in Appendix C.

240 3.2 Lower bound on the distortion of Plurality

241 We now present a lower bound on the distortion of PLU for any m in the limit n tends to infinity. This
 242 lower bound matches the upper bound of Theorem 1 in the limit. A full proof is in Appendix D. Note
 243 that the proof has an adversarially chosen distribution over the rankings subject to the marginals on
 244 pairwise relationships satisfying g (as in the definition of distortion under probabilistic voting 4).
 245 This lower bound does not apply to the PL model, which has a specific distribution over rankings.

246 **Theorem 2.** *For every $m \geq 2$, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \geq \max(m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)$.*

247 *Proof Sketch.* The proof is by an example in an Euclidean metric space in \mathbb{R}^3 . One candidate ‘‘C’’ is
 248 at $(1, 0, 0)$. The other $m - 1$ candidates are ‘‘good’’ and are equidistantly placed on a circle of radius
 249 ϵ on the $y - z$ plane centred at $(0, 0, 0)$. We call them $\mathcal{G} := \{G_1, G_2, \dots, G_{m-1}\}$.

250 We present sketches of two constructions below for every $\epsilon, \zeta > 0$.

251 *Construction 1:* Let $q_{\text{MID}} := g\left(\frac{\sqrt{(x_{\text{MID}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2}}{1 - x_{\text{MID}}^*}\right)$ and $a_{\text{MID}} := \frac{1}{m-1} \left(1 - \frac{1+\zeta}{mq_{\text{MID}}}\right)$. Each of the $m -$
 252 1 candidates in \mathcal{G} has $\lfloor a_{\text{MID}} n \rfloor$ voters overlapping with it. The remaining voters (we call them
 253 ‘‘ambivalent’’) are placed at $(x_{\text{MID}}^*, 0, 0)$. Clearly, each voter overlapping with a candidate votes for it
 254 as the most preferred candidate with probability one. Each of the ambivalent voters votes as follows.

255 – With probability q_{MID} , vote for candidate C as the top choice and uniformly randomly permute the
 256 other candidates in the rest of the vote.

257 – With probability $1 - q_{\text{MID}}$, vote for candidate C as the last choice and uniformly randomly permute
 258 the other candidates in the rest of the vote.

259 We show that the probability that C wins tends to 1 as $n \rightarrow \infty$ and the distortion is $m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1$.

260 *Construction 2:* We give a construction where the locations of the candidates are identical as in
 261 Construction 1, and some voters are located with the ‘‘good’’ candidates. The ambivalent voters are at
 262 $(-x_{\text{OUT}}^*, 0, 0)$. We show that $\mathbb{P}[C \text{ wins}]$ tends to 1 as $n \rightarrow \infty$ and the distortion is $m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1$. \square

263 This result establishes that the distortion of Plurality is bound to increase linearly with m even under
 264 probabilistic voting, and is therefore not a good choice when m is even moderately large.

265 **4 Distortion of Copeland Rule Under Probabilistic Voting**

266 We now bound the distortion of the Copeland voting rule. We say that candidate W defeats candidate
267 Y if more than half of the voters rank W above Y .

268 **Theorem 3.** *For every $\epsilon > 0, m \geq 2$ and $n \geq 4$, we have*

$$\begin{aligned} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) &\leq 4m(m-1) \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)}\right) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}})^2 \\ &\quad + \max\left(\left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}} - 1\right)^2, \left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}} + 1\right)^2\right). \end{aligned}$$

269 *For every $m \geq 2$, we have $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) \leq \max((2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1)^2, (2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)^2)$.*

270 *Proof Sketch.* A Copeland winner belongs to the uncovered set in the tournament graph, as
271 demonstrated in [1, Theorem 15]. Recall that B denotes the candidate with the least social cost. For
272 a Copeland winner W , either W defeats B or it defeats a candidate Y who defeats B .

273 We now consider two exhaustive cases on candidate A_j and define event E_j for every $j \in [m-1]$
274 by computing the expected fraction of votes on pairwise comparisons. The event E_j denotes the
275 existence of an at-most two hop directed path from a candidate A_j to candidate B for Copeland such
276 that the expected fraction of votes on all edges along that path exceed $\frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2}$.

277 If E_j holds true, we upper bound the ratio of social cost of candidate A_j and social cost of candidate
278 B using Lemma 2 which in-turn would give a bound on the distortion. Otherwise, we use union
279 bound and Chernoff's bound to upper bound the probability of A_j being the winner. Multiplying the
280 probability bound with the ratio of social costs (one obtained from Lemma 2) leads to a bound on the
281 distortion. A detailed proof is in Appendix E. \square

282 **5 Distortion of Random Dictator Rule Under Probabilistic Voting**

283 We first give an upper bound on the distortion of RD; the proof is in Appendix F.

284 **Theorem 4.** $\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \leq (m-1)\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + 1$.

285 We now give a lower bound on the distortion of RD. We do this by constructing an example.

286 **Theorem 5.** *For $m \geq 3$ and $n \geq 2$, $\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \geq 2 + \frac{1}{g^{-1}(\frac{1}{m-1})} - \frac{2}{n}$.*

287 *Proof.* We have a 1-D Euclidean construction. Let B be at 0 and all other candidates $\mathcal{A} \setminus \{B\}$ be at
288 1. $m-1$ voters are at 0 and one voter V is at $\tilde{x} = g^{-1}(\frac{1}{m-1})/(1 + g^{-1}(\frac{1}{m-1}))$.

289 The ranking for V is generated as follows: pick a candidate from $\mathcal{A} \setminus \{B\}$ as the top rank uniformly
290 at random. Keep B on the second rank. Permute the remaining candidates uniformly at random for
291 the remaining ranks. Observe that the marginal pairwise order probabilities are consistent with the
292 distance of V from B and each candidate in $\mathcal{A} \setminus \{B\}$. In particular $g(\frac{\tilde{x}}{1-\tilde{x}}) = \frac{1}{m-1}$. The distortion for
293 this instance is $\mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \cdot 1 + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ loses}] \cdot \frac{n-\tilde{x}}{\tilde{x}} = \frac{n-1}{n} + \frac{1}{n} \frac{n-\tilde{x}}{\tilde{x}} = 1 + \frac{1}{\tilde{x}} - \frac{2}{n} = 2 + \frac{1}{g^{-1}(\frac{1}{m-1})} - \frac{2}{n}$. \square

294 For $g(r) = \frac{r^\theta}{1+r^\theta}$, we have $g^{-1}(t) = (\frac{t}{1-t})^{\frac{1}{\theta}}$. Then $g^{-1}(\frac{1}{m-1}) = (m-2)^{-\frac{1}{\theta}}$, and the distortion lower
295 bound is $\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \geq 2 + (m-2)^{\frac{1}{\theta}} - \frac{2}{n}$, and $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \geq 2 + (m-2)^{\frac{1}{\theta}}$.

296 However, note that this result does not apply to the PL model! This is because the PL model has
297 a specific distribution on the rankings. In contrast, the above result is obtained by choosing an
298 adversarial distribution on rankings subject to the constraint that its marginals on pairwise relations
299 are given by g . In the PL model, $\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ is top-ranked in } \sigma_i] = \frac{d(i, A_j)^{-\theta}}{\sum_{A_k \in \mathcal{A}} d(i, A_k)^{-\theta}}$ [45]. We have the
300 following result for the PL model. A proof via a similar construction as Theorem 5 is in Appendix G.

301 **Theorem 6.** *Let $\text{DIST}_{PL}^\theta(\text{RD}, m, n)$ denote the distortion when the voters' rankings are generated
302 per the PL model with parameter θ . We have $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}_{PL}^\theta(\text{RD}, m, n) \geq 1 + \frac{(m-1)^{1/\theta}}{2}$.*

303 **6 Numerical Evaluations**

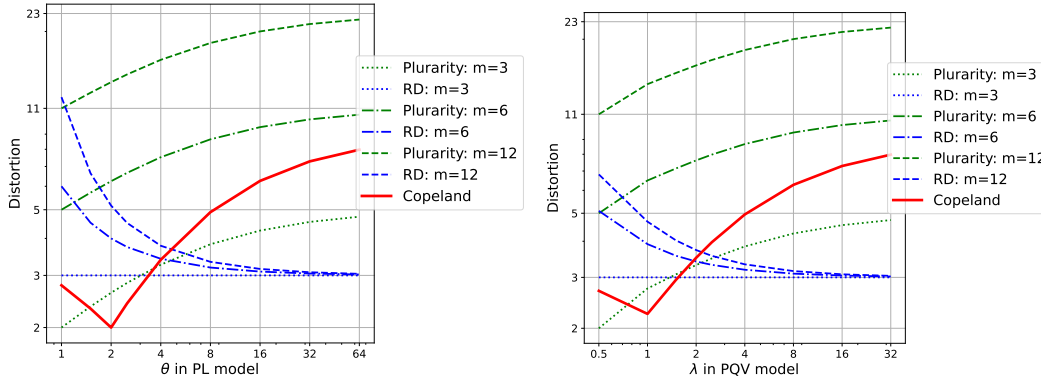


Figure 2: Here, we illustrate how the distortion bounds on different voting rules vary with m and with the randomness parameters of the two models, PL and PQV, in the limit $n \rightarrow \infty$. Both the x and y axes are on the log scale. We plot the upper bound for Copeland (Theorem 3), the lower bound for RD (Theorem 5), and the matching bounds for Plurality (Theorem 1).

304 Recall that higher values of θ and λ correspond to lower randomness. From Figure 2, we observe that
 305 under sufficient randomness, the more intricate voting rule Copeland outshines the simpler rule RD,
 306 which only looks at a voter’s top choice. Moreover, its distortion is independent of m in the limit
 307 $n \rightarrow \infty$. This is in sharp contrast to RD, where the distortion is $\Omega(m^{1/\theta})$ in the PL model, a sharp
 308 rate of increase in m for low values of θ . The distortion of Plurality increases linearly in m .

309 An important observation is regarding the asymptotics when θ or λ increases. The distortion of RD
 310 converges to its value under deterministic voting, i.e., 3. The distortion of Plurality also converges to
 311 $2m - 1$, the same as in deterministic voting. Since our bound on Copeland is not tight, it converges
 312 to 9 rather than 5. So far, in the study of metric distortion, the social choice community has looked
 313 only at these asymptotic; here, we present insights available from looking at the ‘complete’ picture.
 314 Interestingly, the distortion of RD increases with randomness, whereas that of Copeland decreases
 315 up to a certain point and then increases again. The reason for the increases in the high randomness
 316 regime is that the votes become too noisy to reveal the best candidate any more.

317 Since these plots have no abrupt transitions, this figure hints that *smoothened analysis* [52] (typically
 318 done with small amounts of noise) is unlikely to give any new insights regarding metric distortion.

319 **7 Discussion and Future Work**

320 We extend the metric distortion framework in social choice in an important way – by capturing the
 321 bounded rationality and randomness in voters’ behaviour. Consideration of this randomness shows
 322 that, in general, the original metric distortion framework is too pessimistic on important voting rules,
 323 most notably on Copeland. On the other hand, the simplistic voting rule Random Dictator, which
 324 attains a distortion of 3 (at least as good as *any* deterministic rule [1]), is not so good when we look at
 325 the full picture – its distortion increases with the number of candidates in our model. Our framework
 326 opens up opportunities to revisit the metric distortion problem with a closer-to-reality view of voters.
 327 It may hopefully lead to the development of new voting rules that consider the randomness of voters’
 328 behaviour. For example, Liu and Moitra [46] take a learning theory approach to design voting rules
 329 under the assumption of random voting per the Mallows model. However, technical analysis in our
 330 framework may be challenging because of the interplay of the *geometric* structure of voters’ positions
 331 and the *probabilistic* nature of their votes.

332 **Future Work** An interesting extension would be to other tournament graph-based voting rules
 333 (weighted or unweighted). Our techniques are well-suited for this class of rules since it is based on
 334 the expected weights of the edges of the tournament graph. Closing the gap for the distortion of
 335 Copeland would be useful for getting deeper insights. Another open problem is the characterization
 336 of the set of distributions on rankings that induce the pairwise probabilities per PQV.

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476 **A Proof of Lemma 1**

477 *Lemma* (Restatement of Lemma 1). $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x)}{x}$ and $\frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x)}{x}$ have unique local maxima in $(0, 1)$ and $(0, \infty)$ respectively.

478 To prove Lemma 1, we first state and prove Lemma 6 which shows that $g_{\text{MID}}(x)$ and $g_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ change from convex to
 479 concave in intervals $(0, 1)$ and $(0, \infty)$ respectively.

480 **Lemma 6.** • There $\exists c_1 \in [0, 1]$ s.t. $g_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is convex in $[0, c_1]$ and concave in $[c_1, 1]$.

481 • There $\exists c_2 \in [0, \infty)$ s.t. $g_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is convex in $[0, c_2]$ and concave in $[c_2, \infty)$.

482 *Proof.* Observe that $g''(x) < 0$ for $x \geq 1$.

483 Recall that $g_{\text{MID}}(x) = g\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right)$ thus, $g'_{\text{MID}}(x) = g'\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) \frac{1}{(1-x)^2}$ and $g_{\text{MID}}(x) + g_{\text{MID}}(1-x) = 1$ Thus, $g''_{\text{MID}}(x) =$
 484 $g'\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) \frac{2}{(1-x)^3} + g''\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) \frac{1}{(1-x)^4}$. Observe that $g''_{\text{MID}}(0) > 0$ which implies $\lim_{x \rightarrow 1} g''_{\text{MID}}(x) < 0$ and thus, there
 485 must exist a $c \in (0, 1)$ such that $g''_{\text{MID}}(c) = 0$.

486 Now we show that there cannot exist two distinct $c_1, c_2 \in (0, 1)$ such that $g''_{\text{MID}}(c_1) = 0$ and $g''_{\text{MID}}(c_2) = 0$. We prove
 487 this statement by contradiction assuming the contrary which implies that $g''_{\text{MID}}(x)$ must have changed its sign twice.

488 However, since $g'\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) > 0$ we must have $g''\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right)$ changing its sign twice which is a contradiction since $g''(r) > 0$
 489 for $r \in (0, c)$ and $g''(r) < 0$ for $r \in (c, \infty)$.

490 Now consider $g_{\text{OUT}}(x) = g\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right)$ we have $g'_{\text{OUT}}(x) = g'\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right) \frac{1}{(1+x)^2}$. Thus, $g''_{\text{OUT}}(x) = -g'\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right) \frac{2}{(1+x)^3} +$
 491 $g''\left(\frac{x}{1+x}\right) \frac{1}{(1+x)^4}$. Using a similar approach, we can also prove the second point in the Lemma. \square

492 Using Lemma 6, we now prove Lemma 1 showing the existence of unique maximas of $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x)}{x}$ and $\frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x)}{x}$.

493 *Proof of Lemma 1.* Recall from Lemma 6 that $g_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is convex in $[0, c_1]$ and concave in $[c_1, 1]$.

494 Since the first derivative equals zero at every local maxima, we must have $xg'_{\text{MID}}(x) - g_{\text{MID}}(x) = 0$ for any local maxima
 495 x . We now argue that such a maxima cannot exist in $[0, c_1]$. Suppose such a maxima exists in that case, we must have

496 $g'_{\text{MID}}(x) = \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x) - g_{\text{MID}}(0)}{x - 0}$ for some $x \in (0, c_1)$. Applying LMVT in the interval $[0, x]$ ¹, we must have some $t \in (0, x)$

497 s.t. $g'_{\text{MID}}(t) = \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x) - g_{\text{MID}}(0)}{x - 0}$, thus implying $g'_{\text{MID}}(x) = g'(t)$ contradicting the fact that $g'_{\text{MID}}(r)$ is strictly increasing in
 498 $[0, c_1]$.

499 Observe that $g_{\text{MID}}(t) - t \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)}{c_1}$ is zero at $t = 0$ and $t = c_1$ and thus, by Rolle's theorem, we have $g'_{\text{MID}}(x) = \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)}{c_1}$ for

500 some $x \in (0, c_1)$. Since, $g'_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is increasing in $[0, c_1]$, we must have $g'_{\text{MID}}(c_1) > \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)}{c_1}$. Observe $\lim_{t \rightarrow 1} \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(t)}{t} = 1$

501 and $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)}{c_1} > 1$. Also, we have $\left. \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(t)}{t} \right) \right|_{t=c_1} > 0$ since $c_1 g'_{\text{MID}}(c_1) > g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)$ implying $g_{\text{MID}}(t)/t$ is increasing

502 at $t = c_1$. Thus, $g_{\text{MID}}(t)/t$ must have at least one local maxima x^* in the open interval (c_1, ∞) and no local maxima
 503 elsewhere.

504 We now argue that this local maxima x^* is unique. Suppose we have two distinct local maximas at $x_1, x_2 \in (c_1, \infty)$
 505 and thus, we have $x_1 g'_{\text{MID}}(x_1) - g_{\text{MID}}(x_1) = 0$ and $x_2 g'_{\text{MID}}(x_2) - g_{\text{MID}}(x_2) = 0$. Rolle's theorem would imply that there
 506 exists $t \in (x_1, x_2)$ ² s.t. $tg''_{\text{MID}}(t) = 0$ which is a contradiction since $g''_{\text{MID}}(x) < 0$ in (c_1, ∞) .

507 Similarly, we can prove the result on the existence and uniqueness of maxima of the function $\frac{g\left(\frac{x}{x+1}\right)}{x}$. \square

508 **B Proof of Lemma 5**

509 *Lemma* (Restatement of Lemma 5). If $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha}) \geq 0$, then $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\alpha}) \geq \mu$.

510 Further, $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha}) \geq 0$ if $\mu = \min \left(\left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1 \right)^{-1}, \left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1 \right)^{-1} \right)$.

¹Observe that $g(x)/x$ has a removable discontinuity at 0 since the limit is defined.

²W.L.O.G, we assume $x_1 < x_2$

511 *Proof.* To lower bound the optimal value of $\mathcal{E}_{\mu,\alpha}$, we first pre-multiply the first constraint by λ (and substitute
 512 $\frac{b_i}{w_i} = r_i \forall i \in [n]$) and thus define,

$$F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda) = \left(\sum_{i=1}^n b_i \right) - \mu \left(\sum_{i=1}^n \frac{b_i}{r_i} \right) - \lambda \left(\sum_{i=1}^n g(r_i) - \alpha \right). \quad (11)$$

513 Further, we define the set which satisfies the last two constraints in $\mathcal{E}_{\mu,\alpha}$ by \mathcal{C} as

$$\mathcal{C} := \{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}) \in (\mathbb{R}_{\geq 0}^n, \mathbb{R}_{\geq 0}^n) : b_i(1 + 1/r_i) \geq 1; |b_i(1/r_i - 1)| \leq 1 \forall i \in [n]\}. \quad (12)$$

514 From the theory of Lagrangian, we have the following

$$\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu,\alpha}) \geq \min_{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}) \in \mathcal{C}} \max_{\lambda \geq 0} F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda) \geq \max_{\lambda \geq 0} \min_{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}) \in \mathcal{C}} F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda). \quad (13)$$

515 Now for a fixed $\lambda > 0$, we minimise $F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda)$ over $(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}) \in \mathcal{C}$. Observe that for every $i \in [n]$, it is sufficient to
 516 minimise $h(r_i, b_i)$ defined as follows.

$$h(r_i, b_i) := b_i(1 - \mu/r_i) - \lambda \left(g(r_i) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right). \quad (14)$$

517 Observe that the constraints in \mathcal{C} can be written as $b_i \geq \frac{r_i}{1+r_i}$ and $b_i \leq \frac{r_i}{|1-r_i|}$.

518 Observe that for a given r_i , the function $h(r_i, b_i)$ is monotonic in b_i and thus the optimum point must lie on the boundary
 519 and first optimize over $b_i(1 + 1/r_i) = 1$ (call it $\mathcal{C}_i^{\text{MID}}$) and $|b_i(1 - 1/r_i)| = 1$ (call it $\mathcal{C}_i^{\text{OUT}}$) respectively.

520 Recall from Lemma 6 that there exists c_1, c_2 s.t. $g_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is convex in $(0, c_1)$ and concave in $(c_1, 1)$ and $g_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is
 521 convex in $(0, c_2)$ and concave in (c_2, ∞) .

522 • *Minimisation of $h(r_i, b_i)$ over $b_i(1 + 1/r_i) = 1$.*

523 We first substitute $1/r_i = 1/b_i - 1$ in the function and thus, can write the function $h(b_i) = b_i(\mu + 1) - \mu -$
 524 $\lambda \left(g \left(\frac{b_i}{1-b_i} \right) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) = b_i(\mu + 1) - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{MID}}(b_i) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right)$.

525 Observe that on optimizing over b_i , we obtain two local minima, one at $b_i = 0$ and the other at $b_i = \tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda) \in (c_1, \infty)$
 526 where $\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)$ satisfies the following equations if $\lambda \geq \frac{1+\mu}{g_{\text{MID}}(c_1)}$. Otherwise, we have a unique minima at $b_i = 0$.³

$$g'_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)) = \max \left(\frac{1+\mu}{\lambda}, g'_{\text{MID}}(1^-) \right) \text{ and } g''_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)) < 0. \quad (15)$$

527 Observe $\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda) > c_1$ since g_{MID} is concave only in $[c_1, 1]$. Also observe that since $g'_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is monotonically
 528 increasing, $\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)$ is monotonically increasing in λ .

529 • *Minimisation of $h(r_i, b_i)$ over $b_i|(1 - 1/r_i)| = 1$.*

530 On substituting, we write the function

$$h(b_i) = \begin{cases} (1 - \mu)b_i - \mu - \lambda \left(g \left(\frac{b_i}{1+b_i} \right) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) = (1 - \mu)b_i - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{OUT}}(b_i) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) & \text{if } r_i \geq 1 \\ (1 - \mu)b_i + \mu - \lambda \left(g \left(\frac{b_i}{b_i-1} \right) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) \stackrel{(a)}{=} (1 - \mu)b_i + \mu - \lambda + \lambda \left(g_{\text{OUT}}(b_i - 1) + \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \quad (16)$$

531 (a) follows from the fact that $g(r) + g(1/r) = 1$.

532 Since the second function has only a single minima at $b_i = 1$, it is sufficient to consider only the first function in the
 533 case $r_i \geq 1$.

534 Observe that on optimizing over b_i , we obtain two local minima one at $b_i = 0$ and one at $b_i = \tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda) \in (c_2, \infty)$
 535 where $\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)$ satisfies the equations if $\lambda \geq \frac{1-\mu}{g_{\text{OUT}}(c_2)}$. Otherwise, we have a unique minima at $b_i = 0$.⁴

$$g'_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)) = \left(\frac{1-\mu}{\lambda} \right) \text{ and } g''_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)) < 0. \quad (17)$$

536 Thus, we have $\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda) > c_2$ since g_{OUT} is concave only in $[c_2, \infty)$. Also observe that since $g'_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is monotonic,
 537 $\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)$ is monotonic in λ .

³This follows from the fact that $g_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is monotonically decreasing in $[c_1, 1)$ and monotonically increasing in $[0, c_1)$.

⁴This follows from the fact that $g_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is monotonically decreasing in $[c_2, \infty)$ and monotonically increasing in $[0, c_2)$. Since $g'_{\text{OUT}}(\infty) = 0$, the solution to (17) exists for every $\lambda \in \left(\frac{1-\mu}{g_{\text{OUT}}(c_2)}, \infty \right)$.

538 Since, this argument is true for every $i \in [n]$, we obtain

$$\min_{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b})} F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda) = n \cdot \min \left(-\mu + \lambda \frac{\alpha}{n}, (\mu + 1)\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda) - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right), \right. \\ \left. (1 - \mu)\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda) - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) \right). \quad (18)$$

539 Since x_{MID}^* is the local maximiser of $\frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x)}{x}$, we have

$$g_{\text{MID}}(x_{\text{MID}}^*) = x_{\text{MID}}^* \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \text{ and } x_{\text{MID}}^* > c_1. \quad (19)$$

540 Similarly,

$$g_{\text{OUT}}(x_{\text{OUT}}^*) = x_{\text{OUT}}^* \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} \text{ and } x_{\text{OUT}}^* > c_2. \quad (20)$$

541 For the purpose of this analysis, we define two functions $\delta^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)$ and $\delta^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)$ below.

$$\delta^{\text{MID}}(\lambda) = (\mu + 1)\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda) - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right). \quad (21)$$

542

$$\delta^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda) = (1 - \mu)\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda) - \mu - \lambda \left(g_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right). \quad (22)$$

543 We also define

$$\mu^* := \min \left(\left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1 \right)^{-1}, \left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1 \right)^{-1} \right), \quad \text{and} \quad \lambda^* := \mu^* \frac{n}{\alpha}. \quad (23)$$

544 Recall that we aim to show $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha}) \geq 0$ when $\mu = \mu^*$ and thus substitute $\mu = \mu^*$ in every subsequent
 545 equation. Observe that it is sufficient to show $\delta^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)$ and $\delta^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*)$ are non-negative since this would imply that
 546 $\max_{\lambda \geq 0} \min_{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}) \in \mathcal{C}} F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{b}, \lambda)$ is non-negative.

547 We now consider the following two exhaustive cases.

548 • Case 1: $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - \frac{\alpha}{n} > \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + \frac{\alpha}{n}$. Observe from Equation (15),

$$g'_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)) = \max \left(\frac{n}{\alpha} \left(\frac{1}{\mu^*} + 1 \right), g'_{\text{MID}}(1^-) \right) = g'_{\text{MID}}(x_{\text{MID}}^*) \xrightarrow{(d)} \tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*) = x_{\text{MID}}^*. \quad (24)$$

549 (d) follows from the fact that both $\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)$ and x_{MID}^* exceed c_1 and $g'_{\text{MID}}(x)$ is monotonically decreasing for $x \geq c_1$.

$$\delta^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*) = (\mu^* + 1)\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*) - \mu^* - \lambda^* \left(g_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) \\ \stackrel{(b)}{\geq} (-\mu^* + \lambda^* \alpha/n) + \lambda^* (\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*) g'_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)) - g_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*))) \stackrel{(c)}{\geq} 0. \quad (25)$$

550 (b) follows from $g'_{\text{MID}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*)) = \frac{1+\mu^*}{\lambda^*}$ ⁵ as stated in Equation (15).

551 (c) follows from $\tilde{x}^{\text{MID}}(\lambda^*) = x_{\text{MID}}^*$ (in Equation (24)) and $g_{\text{MID}}(x_{\text{MID}}^*) = x_{\text{MID}}^* \hat{g}_{\text{MID}}$ (in Equation (19)) and the fact that
 552 $\mu^* = \lambda^* \frac{\alpha}{n}$. Now consider,

$$\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} \stackrel{(d)}{=} \frac{g_{\text{OUT}}(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)}{x_{\text{OUT}}^*} \stackrel{(e)}{\leq} \frac{g_{\text{MID}}(x_{\text{MID}}^*)}{x_{\text{MID}}^*} - 2\alpha/n \stackrel{(g)}{=} \frac{1 - \mu}{\lambda^*} \stackrel{(h)}{\implies} g'_{\text{OUT}}(x_{\text{OUT}}^*) \leq g'_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*)) \stackrel{(i)}{\implies} x_{\text{OUT}}^* \geq \tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*).$$

553 (d) follows from the fact that x_{OUT}^* is the local maximiser of $g_{\text{OUT}}(x)/x$,

554 (e) follows from the fact that $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - \frac{\alpha}{n} > \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + \frac{\alpha}{n}$ in Case 1.

555 (g) follows from the definition of λ^* and that $\mu = \lambda^* \frac{\alpha}{n}$.

556 (h) follows from the constraint in (17).

⁵This follows from the fact that $\frac{1+\mu^*}{\lambda^*} = \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} = g'(x_{\text{MID}}^*) \geq g'_{\text{MID}}(1^-)$

557 (i) follows from the fact that $g'_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is monotonically decreasing in x in $[c_2, \infty)$.

$$\begin{aligned}
\delta^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*) &= (1 - \mu)\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*) - \mu - \lambda^* \left(g_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*)) - \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) \\
&\stackrel{(j)}{=} \left(-\mu + \lambda^* \frac{\alpha}{n} \right) + \lambda^* (\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*) g'_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*)) - g_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*))) \\
&\stackrel{(k)}{\geq} 0 + 0 \geq 0.
\end{aligned} \tag{26}$$

558 (j) follows from $g'_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda)) = \frac{1-\mu}{\lambda}$ as stated in Equation (17), and

559 (k) follows from the following reasons:

- Observe that $xg'_{\text{OUT}}(x) - g_{\text{OUT}}(x)$ is monotonically decreasing in $[c_2, \infty)$ as g_{OUT} is concave in this region. However, since $x^*_{\text{OUT}} \geq \tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*) \geq c_2$, we have

$$(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*) g'_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*)) - g_{\text{OUT}}(\tilde{x}^{\text{OUT}}(\lambda^*))) \geq x^*_{\text{OUT}} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} - g_{\text{OUT}}(x^*_{\text{OUT}}) = 0$$

560 – $\lambda^* = \mu^* \frac{n}{\alpha}$ follows from the definition of λ^* .

561 Thus, using (25) and (26) we show that for the chosen value of $\lambda^* = \mu^* \frac{n}{\alpha}$, we have

562 $\min_{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{w}) \in \mathcal{C}} F(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{w}, \lambda^*) \geq 0$ implying from (13) that $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha}) \geq 0$.

563 • Case 2: $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - \frac{\alpha}{n} \leq \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + \frac{\alpha}{n}$

564 Choosing $\lambda^* = \mu^* \frac{n}{\alpha}$, we can prove $\text{opt}(\mathcal{E}_{\mu, \alpha}) \geq 0$ in a very similar manner whenever $\mu = \mu^*$. \square

565 C Proof of Theorem 1

566 *Theorem* (Restatement of Theorem 1). For every $\epsilon > 0$ and $m \geq 2$ and $n \geq m^2$ we have

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) &\leq m(m-1) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}) \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 2m}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)m}\right) \\
&\quad + \max\left(\frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)})} - 1, \frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)})} + 1\right).
\end{aligned} \tag{27}$$

567 Further, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \leq \max(m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)$.

568 *Proof.* Recall that candidate $B \in \mathcal{A}$ minimises the social cost. The other candidates are denoted by $\{A_j\}_{j \in [m-1]}$.

$$\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) = \sup_{d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})} \left(\sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{\text{SC}(A_j, d)}{\text{SC}(B, d)} + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \right) \tag{28}$$

569 For every $j \in [m-1]$, we now bound the probability of A_j being the winner. This event implies that at least $\frac{n}{m}$ voters
570 choose A_j as the top preference, implying that the same voters rank A_j over B . Further, we now define Bernoulli
571 random variables $\{Y_{i,j}\}_{i=1}^n$ each denoting the event that voter i ranks candidate A_j over B . Recall from Equation 3,
572 $Y_{i,j} \sim \text{Bern}\left(g\left(\frac{d(i,B)}{d(i,A_j)}\right)\right)$. Therefore,

$$\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \leq \mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{m}\right). \tag{29}$$

573 Let α_j be the expectation of the random variable $\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j}$ i.e. the expected number of voters ranking A_j over B .

$$\alpha_j := \sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{E}[Y_{i,j}] = \sum_{i=1}^n g\left(\frac{d(i,B)}{d(i,A_j)}\right) \text{ for every } j \in [m-1]. \tag{30}$$

574 Now we use Chernoff bounds on the sum of Bernoulli random variable for every $j \in [m-1]$ when $\alpha_j \leq \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m}$
 575 to bound the probability of A_j being the winner.

If $\alpha_j \leq \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m}$ we have,

$$\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \leq \mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{m}\right) = \mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \alpha_j \left(1 + \frac{n}{m\alpha_j} - 1\right)\right) \quad (31)$$

$$\stackrel{(a)}{\leq} \left(\frac{e^{(\frac{n}{m\alpha_j}-1)}}{\left(\frac{n}{m\alpha_j}\right)^{n/m\alpha_j}}\right)^{\alpha_j} \quad (32)$$

$$= \left(\frac{m\alpha_j}{n}\right)^{\frac{n}{m}} e^{\frac{n}{m}-\alpha_j} \quad (33)$$

$$\leq \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \left(\frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \exp\left(-\frac{\alpha_j}{n/m-1}\right)\right)^{\left(\frac{n}{m}-1\right)} e^{\frac{n}{m}} \quad (34)$$

$$\stackrel{(c)}{\leq} \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} e^{\frac{n}{m}} \left(\left(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}\right) \exp\left(-\frac{\frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{m}}{n/m-1}\right)\right)^{\frac{n}{m}-1} \quad (35)$$

$$= \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \left(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}\right)^{(n/m-1)} \exp\left(\frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{m}\right) \quad (36)$$

$$\stackrel{(d)}{\leq} \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \exp\left(\frac{-2n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}(n/m-1)}{2 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}} + \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{m}\right) \quad (37)$$

$$= \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 2m}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)m}\right). \quad (38)$$

576 (a) follows from applying the Chernoff bound. We restate the bound from [60] below.

577 Suppose X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n be independent Bernoulli random variables with $\mathbb{P}(X_i) = \mu_i$ for every $i \in [n]$ and $\mu :=$
 578 $\sum_{i=1}^n \mu_i$, then we have

$$\mathbb{P}\left(\sum_i X_i \geq (1 + \delta)\mu\right) \leq \left(\frac{e^\delta}{(1 + \delta)^{1+\delta}}\right)^\mu \quad (39)$$

579 (c) holds since xe^{-x} is increasing in $(0, 1)$ and because $\frac{\alpha}{n/m-1} \leq 1$ and $\alpha \leq \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{m}$, the maxima is attained at
 580 $\alpha = \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{m}$. (d) holds since $\log(1+x) \leq \frac{2x}{2+x}$ for $-1 < x \leq 0$.

581 Let $S := \{j \in [m-1] : \alpha_j < \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m}\}$ i.e. S denotes the indices of candidates with α_j less than $\frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m}$.

582 Now using Lemma 2 and $\alpha_j \geq \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m}$ for every $j \in [m-1] \setminus S$, we have

$$\frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \leq \max\left(\frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} - 1, \frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} + 1\right) \quad (40)$$

583 We now have

$\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m)$

$$\begin{aligned} &= \sup_{d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})} \left(\sum_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] + \sum_{j \in S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) \right) \\ &\stackrel{(a)}{\leq} \max\left(\max_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)}, 1\right) + \sum_{j \in S} \left(\max\left(\frac{n}{\alpha_j} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, \frac{n}{\alpha_j} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1\right) \frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 2m}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)m}\right) \right) \\ &\stackrel{(b)}{\leq} m(m-1)(\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}) \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 2m}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)m}\right) + \max\left(\frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} - 1, \frac{m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} + 1\right). \end{aligned}$$

584 (a) follows from the following observations.

585 • Apply Lemma 2 to bound $\frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)}$. Since $\alpha_j \leq \frac{n}{m} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{m} \forall j \in S$, apply Equation (31) to bound $\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}]$.

586 • $\sum_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \leq \max \left(\max_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)}, 1 \right)$.

587 (b) follows from the fact that $|S| \leq m - 1$, $\max(a, b) \leq a + b$, and applying Equation (40). \square

588 D Proof of Theorem 2

589 *Theorem* (Restatement of Theorem 2). For every $m \geq 2$, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \geq$
 590 $\max(m\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, m\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)$.

591 *Proof.* The proof is by an example in an Euclidean metric space in \mathbb{R}^3 . One candidate ‘‘C’’ is at $(1, 0, 0)$. The other
 592 $m - 1$ candidates are ‘‘good’’ and are equidistantly placed on a circle of radius ϵ on the $y - z$ plane centred at $(0, 0, 0)$.
 593 We call them $\mathcal{G} := \{G_1, G_2, \dots, G_{m-1}\}$.

594 We present two constructions below for every $\epsilon, \zeta > 0$.

595 *Construction 1:* Let $q_{\text{MID}} := g\left(\frac{\sqrt{(x_{\text{MID}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2}}{1 - x_{\text{MID}}^*}\right)$ and $a_{\text{MID}} := \frac{1}{m-1} \left(1 - \frac{1+\zeta}{mq_{\text{MID}}}\right)$. Each of the $m - 1$ candidates in \mathcal{G} has
 596 $\lfloor a_{\text{MID}} n \rfloor$ voters overlapping with it. The remaining voters (we call them ‘‘ambivalent’’) are placed at $(x_{\text{MID}}^*, 0, 0)$. Clearly,
 597 each voter overlapping with a candidate votes for it as the most preferred candidate with probability one. Each of the
 598 ambivalent voters votes as follows.

599 – With probability q_{MID} , vote for candidate C as the top choice and uniformly randomly permute the other candidates in
 600 the rest of the vote.

601 – With probability $1 - q_{\text{MID}}$, vote for candidate C as the last choice and uniformly randomly permute the other candidates
 602 in the rest of the vote.

603 Observe that this satisfies the pairwise probability criterion in Equation 3. Since $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \lfloor an \rfloor / n = a$ and that the
 604 distance of a candidate in \mathcal{G} from any non-ambivalent voter is at most 2ϵ , we have that for every $j \in [m - 1]$,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{SC(C, d)}{SC(G_j, d)} \geq \frac{(1 - x_{\text{MID}}^*)(1 - (m - 1)a_{\text{MID}}) + (m - 1)a_{\text{MID}}\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2}}{(1 - (m - 1)a_{\text{MID}})\sqrt{(x_{\text{MID}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{MID}}\epsilon} \quad (41)$$

$$= \frac{(mq_{\text{MID}} - (1 + \zeta))\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2} + (1 + \zeta)(1 - x_{\text{MID}}^*)}{(1 + \zeta)\sqrt{(x_{\text{MID}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{MID}}\epsilon}. \quad (42)$$

605 Clearly every candidate in \mathcal{G} minimises the social cost and now we show that $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \mathbb{P}[C \text{ wins}] = 1$.

Let Bernoulli random variables $\{Y_i\}_{i=1}^n$ denote the events that voter $i \in \mathcal{N}$ ranks candidate C at the top. Here,
 $\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[Y_i = 1] = q_{\text{MID}}(n - (m - 1)\lfloor a_{\text{MID}} n \rfloor)$ and thus

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[Y_i = 1]}{n} = \frac{1 + \zeta}{m}.$$

606 By the law of large numbers, we have that $\mathbb{P}[\sum_i Y_i \geq \frac{n}{m}] = 1$ as $n \rightarrow \infty$. Since every candidate in \mathcal{G} is equally likely
 607 to win, the event $\sum_i Y_i \geq \frac{n}{m}$ implies the event that C is the winner and thus, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \mathbb{P}[C \text{ wins}] = 1$. Thus,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \geq \frac{(mq_{\text{MID}} - (1 + \zeta))\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2} + (1 + \zeta)(1 - x_{\text{MID}}^*)}{(1 + \zeta)\sqrt{(x_{\text{MID}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{MID}}\epsilon}. \quad (43)$$

608 *Construction 2:* Let $q_{\text{OUT}} := g\left(\frac{\sqrt{(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2}}{1 + x_{\text{OUT}}^*}\right)$ and $a_{\text{OUT}} := \frac{1}{m-1} \left(1 - \frac{1+\zeta}{mq_{\text{OUT}}}\right)$. Each candidate in \mathcal{G} has $\lfloor a_{\text{OUT}} n \rfloor$ voters
 609 overlapping with it, and the remaining ‘‘ambivalent’’ voters are at $(-x_{\text{OUT}}^*, 0, 0)$.

610 Clearly, each voter overlapping with a candidate votes for it as the most preferred candidate with probability one. Each
 611 of the ambivalent voters votes as follows.

612 • With probability q_{OUT} , vote for candidate C as the top choice and uniformly randomly permute the other candidates in
 613 the rest of the vote.

614 • With probability $1 - q_{\text{OUT}}$, vote for candidate C as the last choice and uniformly randomly permute the other candidates
 615 in the rest of the vote.

616 This satisfies the pairwise probability criterion in Equation 3. For every $j \in [m - 1]$,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{SC(C, d)}{SC(G_j, d)} \geq \frac{(1 + x_{\text{OUT}}^*)(1 - (m - 1)a_{\text{OUT}}) + (m - 1)a_{\text{OUT}}\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2}}{(1 - (m - 1)a_{\text{OUT}})\sqrt{(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{OUT}}\epsilon} \quad (44)$$

$$= \frac{(1 + \zeta)(1 + x_{\text{OUT}}^*) + (mq_{\text{OUT}} - (1 + \zeta))\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2}}{(1 + \zeta)\sqrt{(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{OUT}}\epsilon}. \quad (45)$$

617 Clearly, every candidate in \mathcal{G} minimises the social cost. Now, we show that $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \mathbb{P}[C \text{ wins}] = 1$.

618 Let Bernoulli random variables $\{Y_i\}_{i=1}^n$ denote the events that voter $i \in \mathcal{N}$ ranks candidate C at the top. We have

619 $\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[Y_i = 1] = q_{\text{MID}}(n - (m - 1)\lfloor an \rfloor)$ and thus, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{P}[Y_i = 1]}{n} = \frac{1 + \zeta}{m}$. Applying the law of large numbers,
 620 we get that $\mathbb{P}[\sum_i Y_i \geq \frac{n}{m}] = 1$ as n tends to ∞ . However since every candidate in \mathcal{G} is equally likely to win, the event

621 $\sum_i Y_i \geq \frac{n}{m}$ corresponds to the event that C is the winner and thus, $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \mathbb{P}[C \text{ wins}] = 1$. Therefore we have,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{PLU}, n, m) \geq \frac{(mq_{\text{OUT}} - (1 + \zeta))\sqrt{1 + \epsilon^2} + (1 + \zeta)(1 + x_{\text{OUT}}^*)}{(1 + \zeta)\sqrt{(x_{\text{OUT}}^*)^2 + \epsilon^2} + 2(m - 2)a_{\text{OUT}}\epsilon}. \quad (46)$$

622 On applying the limit $\epsilon, \zeta \rightarrow 0$ and substituting for q_{MID} and q_{OUT} , we get the desired lower bound by combining the
 623 results from the two constructions. \square

624 E Proof of Theorem 3

625 **Theorem 7.** *Restatement of Theorem 3* For every $\epsilon > 0$, $m \geq 2$ and $n \geq 4$, we have

$$\begin{aligned} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) &\leq 4m(m - 1) \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2} + \epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2} - \epsilon)} - 1)}\right) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}})^2 \\ &\quad + \max\left(\left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2} - \epsilon)}} - 1\right)^2, \left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2} - \epsilon)}} + 1\right)^2\right). \end{aligned}$$

626 For every $m \geq 2$, we have $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) \leq \max((2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1)^2, (2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1)^2)$.

627 *Proof.* Recall that $B \in \mathcal{A}$ minimises the social cost, and $\{A_j\}_{j \in [m-1]}$ denotes the set $\mathcal{A} \setminus B$.

$$\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) = \sup_{d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})} \left(\sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \right) \quad (47)$$

628 Consider a Copeland winner W . As noted by prior work [1], W must be in the uncovered set of the tournament graph,
 629 and one of the following two cases must be true.

630 • W defeats B .

631 • There exists a candidate $Y \in \mathcal{A}$ s.t. W defeats Y and Y defeats B .

632 For every $j \in [m - 1]$, we now bound the probability of A_j being the winner. For every $j \in [m - 1]$, we define
 633 Bernoulli random variables $\{Y_{i,j}\}_{i=1}^n$ denoting the event that voter i ranks candidate A_j over candidate B . From

634 Equation 3, we have that $Y_{i,j} \sim \text{Bern}\left(g\left(\frac{d(i, A_j)}{d(i, B)}\right)\right)$. For every distinct $j, k \in [m - 1]$, we define Bernoulli random

635 variables $\{Z_{i,j,k}\}_{i=1}^n$ denoting the event that voter i ranks candidate A_j over A_k . $Z_{i,j,k} \sim \text{Bern}\left(g\left(\frac{d(i, A_k)}{d(i, A_j)}\right)\right)$.

636 Observe that

$$\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \leq \mathbb{P} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{2} \cup \bigcup_{k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Z_{i,j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2} \cap \sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,k} \geq \frac{n}{2} \right) \right). \quad (48)$$

637 Let α_j denote the expected value of the random variable $\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j}$, i.e., the expected number of voters who rank
638 candidate A_j over B .

$$\alpha_j := \sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{E}[Y_{i,j}] = \sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{d(i, B)}{d(i, A_j)} \right) \text{ for every } j \in [m-1]. \quad (49)$$

639 Let $\beta_{j,k}$ denote the expected value of the random variable $\sum_{i=1}^n Z_{i,j,k}$, i.e., the expected number of voters who rank
640 candidate A_j over A_k .

$$\beta_{j,k} := \sum_{i=1}^n \mathbb{E}[Z_{i,j,k}] = \sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{d(i, A_k)}{d(i, A_j)} \right) \text{ for every } j \in [m-1]. \quad (50)$$

641 Similar to Equation (31), we have the following bound:

If $\alpha_j \leq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2}$, we have

$$\mathbb{P} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{2} \right) = \mathbb{P} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \alpha_j \left(1 + \frac{n}{2\alpha_j} - 1 \right) \right) \quad (51)$$

$$\stackrel{(a)}{\leq} \left(\frac{e^{(\frac{n}{2\alpha_j} - 1)}}{(\frac{n}{2\alpha_j})^{n/2\alpha_j}} \right)^{\alpha_j} \quad (52)$$

$$\leq \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 \left(\frac{m\alpha_j}{n} \exp \left(-\frac{\alpha_j}{n/2-2} \right) \right)^{\frac{n}{2}-2} e^{\frac{n}{m}} \quad (53)$$

$$\stackrel{(c)}{\leq} \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 e^{\frac{n}{2}} \left(\left(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} \right) \exp \left(-\frac{\frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{2}}{n/2-2} \right) \right)^{\frac{n}{2}-2} \quad (54)$$

$$= \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 \left(1 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} \right)^{(n/2-2)} \exp \left(\frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{2} \right) \quad (55)$$

$$\stackrel{(d)}{\leq} \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 \exp \left(\frac{-2n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}(n/2-2)}{2 - n^{-(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}} + \frac{n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}}{2} \right) \quad (56)$$

$$= \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 \exp \left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)2} \right) \quad (57)$$

642 From Equation (31) in the proof of Theorem 1, we have

$$\mathbb{P} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{2} \right) \leq \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n} \right)^2 \exp \left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)} \right) \text{ if } \alpha_j \leq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2}. \quad (58)$$

643

$$\text{Similarly, } \mathbb{P} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Z_{i,j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2} \right) \leq \left(\frac{2\beta_{j,k}}{n} \right)^2 \exp \left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)} \right) \text{ if } \beta_{j,k} \leq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2}. \quad (59)$$

644 Consider two exhaustive cases on candidate A_j and define an event E_j for every $j \in [m-1]$. We compute the expected
645 fraction of votes on pairwise comparisons. The event E_j denotes the existence of an at-most two hop directed path
646 from a candidate A_j to candidate B for Copeland such that the expected fraction of votes on all edges along that path
647 exceed $\frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2}$. Recall that we only considered one hop path for the case of PLU in the proof of Theorem 1.

$$E_j := \left(\alpha_j \geq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2} \right) \bigcup_{k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}} \left(\left(\beta_{j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2} \right) \cap \left(\alpha_k \geq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2} \right) \right). \quad (60)$$

648 If E_j holds true, we can directly upper bound the ratio of the social cost of candidate A_j to the social cost of candidate
649 B using Lemma 2, which in turn provides a bound on the distortion. If E_j does not hold, we apply the union bound and
650 Chernoff's bound to upper bound the probability of A_j being the winner. By multiplying this probability bound with
651 the ratio of social costs obtained from Lemma 2, we derive a bound on the distortion.

652 Define $S := \{j \in [m-1] : E_j \text{ is not true}\}$. Furthermore, we define $\mathcal{K}_1(j) := \{j \in [m-1] : \alpha_k \geq \beta_{j,k}\}$ and
653 $\mathcal{K}_2(j) := \{j \in [m-1] : \alpha_k < \beta_{j,k}\}$ denotes complement of $\mathcal{K}_1(j)$ for every $j \in [m]$.

654 From Equations (58) and (59), both of the following conditions 1 and 2 are satisfied for every $j \in S$.

655 1. $\mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right) \leq \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right)$

656 2. For every $k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}$,

657 $\mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Z_{i,j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right) \leq \left(\frac{2\beta_{j,k}}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right)$ if $k \in \mathcal{K}_1(j)$

658 and, $\mathbb{P}\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,k} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right) \leq \left(\frac{2\alpha_k}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right)$ if $k \in \mathcal{K}_2(j)$.

659 Furthermore, we define $\gamma_j := \max\left(\max_{k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}} (\min(\alpha_k, \beta_{j,k})), \alpha_j\right)$.

660 Since, for every Copeland winner W , it must either defeat B or there exists a $Y \in \mathcal{A}$ s.t. W defeats Y and Y defeats B .
661 Using union bound for every $j \in S$, we have

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] &\leq \mathbb{P}\left[\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,j} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right] + \sum_{k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}} \mathbb{P}\left[\left(\sum_{i=1}^n Y_{i,k} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right) \cap \left(\sum_{i=1}^n Z_{i,j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2}\right)\right] \text{ if } j \in S \\ &\leq \left(\frac{2\alpha_j}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right) + \sum_{k \in \mathcal{K}_2(j)} \left(\frac{2\alpha_k}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right) \\ &\quad + \sum_{k \in \mathcal{K}_1(j)} \left(\frac{2\beta_{j,k}}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right) \text{ if } j \in S \\ &\leq m \left(\frac{2\gamma_j}{n}\right)^2 \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right) \text{ if } j \in S. \end{aligned} \quad (61)$$

662 The last inequality follows from the definition of γ_j .

663 Furthermore from Lemma 2 and the definition of γ_j ,⁶ we have

$$\frac{\text{SC}(A_j, d)}{\text{SC}(B, d)} \leq \left(\max\left(\frac{n}{\gamma_j} \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} - 1, \frac{n}{\gamma_j} \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}} + 1\right) \right)^2 \quad (62)$$

664 Using Equation (62) and (61) and applying $\max(a, b) \leq a + b$, we have

$$\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{\text{SC}(A_j, d)}{\text{SC}(B, d)} \leq 4m \exp\left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)}+8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)}-1)}\right) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}})^2 \text{ if } j \in S. \quad (63)$$

⁶This follows on splitting $\frac{\text{SC}(A_j, d)}{\text{SC}(B, d)} = \frac{\text{SC}(A_j, d)}{\text{SC}(A_k, d)} \times \frac{\text{SC}(A_k, d)}{\text{SC}(B, d)}$ and applying the lemma separately. We further use the fact that $\frac{1}{\gamma} = \min\left(\min_{k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}} \left(\max\left(\frac{1}{\alpha_k}, \frac{1}{\beta_{j,k}}\right)\right), \frac{1}{\alpha_j}\right)$

665 Recall that for every $j \in [m-1] \setminus S$, E_j is satisfied. Let us further denote

$$\hat{E}_j := \alpha_j \geq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2} \text{ and } \hat{D}_{j,k} := \left(\beta_{j,k} \geq \frac{n}{2} - \frac{n^{(1/2+\epsilon)}}{2} \right).$$

666 Observe that E_j being satisfied implies either a) \hat{E}_j is satisfied or b) $\exists k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}$ s.t. \hat{E}_k and $\hat{D}_{j,k}$ are satisfied.
667 We consider both cases separately.

668 Suppose \hat{E}_j is satisfied for some $j \in [m-1] \setminus S$. Then we have from Lemma 2,

$$\frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \leq \max \left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} - 1, \frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} + 1 \right). \quad (64)$$

669 Now we consider case (b) where \hat{E}_k and $\hat{D}_{j,k}$ are both satisfied for some $k \in [m-1] \setminus \{j\}$. From Lemma 2 we have,

$$\frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \leq \max \left(\left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} - 1 \right)^2, \left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} + 1 \right)^2 \right). \quad (65)$$

670 Now combining Equations (63), (64), and (65), we have for any metric space $d \in \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{N} \cup \mathcal{A})$,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{COP}, n, m) &\leq \left(\sum_{j \in S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] + \sum_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) \right) \\ &\stackrel{(a)}{\leq} 4(m-1)m \exp \left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)} \right) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}) + \max \left(\max_{j \in [m-1] \setminus S} \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)}, 1 \right) \\ &\stackrel{(b)}{\leq} 4(m-1)m \exp \left(\frac{-n^{(\frac{1}{2}+\epsilon)} + 8}{2(2n^{(\frac{1}{2}-\epsilon)} - 1)} \right) (\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + \hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}) + \max \left(\left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{MID}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} - 1 \right)^2, \left(\frac{2\hat{g}_{\text{OUT}}}{(1 - n^{-(1/2-\epsilon)})} + 1 \right)^2 \right). \end{aligned}$$

671 (a) follows from Equation (61) and the fact that $\sum_{j \in S} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)} \right) + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \leq \max \left(\max_{j \in S} \frac{SC(A_j, d)}{SC(B, d)}, 1 \right)$.

672 (b) follows from combining Equations (63), (64), and (65). \square

673 F Proof of Theorem 4

674 *Theorem* (Restatement of Theorem 4). $\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \leq (m-1)\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + 1$.

675 *Proof.* The probability of voter i voting for candidate W as its top candidate is upper bounded by $g \left(\frac{d(i, B)}{d(i, W)} \right)$ which is
676 the probability that W is ranked over B . Therefore, under RD, the probability of W winning satisfies:

$$\mathbb{P}[W \text{ wins}] \leq \frac{1}{n} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{d(i, B)}{d(i, W)} \right) \right). \quad (66)$$

677 Recall that we define the set of candidates in $\mathcal{A} \setminus B$ as $\{A_1, A_2, \dots, A_{m-1}\}$. In the rest of the analysis we denote
678 $d(i, A_j)$ by $y_{i,j}$ (for all $j \in [m-1]$) and $d(i, B)$ by b_i for every $i \in [n]$. We also denote $d(B, A_j)$ by z_j for every

679 $j \in [m-1]$. Now for every metric d , we bound the distortion as follows.

$$\text{DIST}^{(g)}(\text{RD}, m, n) \leq \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \left(\mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n y_{i,j}}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i} \right) + \left(1 - \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \right) \quad (67)$$

$$= \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \mathbb{P}[A_j \text{ wins}] \left(\frac{\sum_{i=1}^n y_{i,j}}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i} - 1 \right) + 1 \quad (68)$$

$$\stackrel{(a)}{\leq} \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \frac{1}{n} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{b_i}{y_{i,j}} \right) \right) \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (y_{i,j} - b_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i} + 1 \quad (69)$$

$$\leq \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \frac{1}{n} \left(\sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{b_i/z_j}{y_{i,j}/z_j} \right) \right) \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (y_{i,j}/z_j - b_i/z_j)}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i/z_j} + 1 \quad (70)$$

$$\stackrel{(d)}{\leq} \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \frac{\left(\sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{b_i/z_j}{y_{i,j}/z_j} \right) \right)}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i/z_j} + 1 \quad (71)$$

$$\stackrel{(e)}{\leq} (m-1) \frac{g \left(\frac{x_{\text{MID}}^*}{1-x_{\text{MID}}^*} \right)}{x_{\text{MID}}^*} + 1 = (m-1) \hat{g}_{\text{MID}} + 1. \quad (72)$$

680 (a) follows from Equation (66).

681 (d) follows from the fact that $y_{i,j} - b_i \leq z_j$ which follows from triangle inequality.

682 (e) follows from the following arguments by considering two cases namely $\frac{b_i}{z_j} \leq 1$ and $\frac{b_i}{z_j} \geq 1$.

683 When $\frac{b_i}{z_j} \leq 1$ and thus, $\frac{y_{i,j}}{z_j} \geq 1 - \frac{b_i}{z_j}$ from triangle inequality. Similarly, we have $\frac{y_{i,j}}{z_j} \geq \frac{b_i}{z_j} - 1$ when $\frac{b_i}{z_j} \geq 1$. Thus,

$$\frac{g \left(\frac{b_i/z_j}{y_{i,j}/z_j} \right)}{b_i/z_j} \leq \max \left(\sup_{x \in (0,1)} \frac{g \left(\frac{x}{1-x} \right)}{x}, \sup_{x \in (1,\infty)} \frac{g \left(\frac{x}{x-1} \right)}{x} \right) \text{ for every } i \in [n] \quad (73)$$

$$\implies \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n g \left(\frac{b_i/z_j}{y_{i,j}/z_j} \right)}{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i/z_j} \leq \max \left(\frac{g \left(\frac{x_{\text{MID}}^*}{1-x_{\text{MID}}^*} \right)}{x_{\text{MID}}^*}, 1 \right). \quad (74)$$

684 The last inequality follows from the fact that $\frac{g \left(\frac{x}{x-1} \right)}{x} \leq 1$ when $x \geq 1$. Further, we have $\hat{g}_{\text{MID}} \geq 1$ for all valid g . \square

685 G Proof of Theorem 6

686 *Theorem* (Restatement of Theorem 6). Let $\text{DIST}_{PL}^\theta(\text{RD}, m, n)$ denote the distortion when the voters' rankings are
687 generated per the PL model with parameter θ . We have $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \text{DIST}_{PL}^\theta(\text{RD}, m, n) \geq 1 + \frac{(m-1)^{1/\theta}}{2}$.

688 *Proof.* We have a 1-D Euclidean construction. Let B be at 0 and all other candidates $\mathcal{A} \setminus \{B\}$ be at 1. $m-1$ voters are
689 at 0, and one voter is at t . We will set t later by optimizing for the distortion.

690 The distortion for this instance is $\mathbb{P}[B \text{ wins}] \cdot 1 + \mathbb{P}[B \text{ loses}] \cdot \frac{n-t}{t} = \frac{n-1}{n} + \frac{1}{n} \frac{t^{-\theta}}{t^{-\theta} + (m-1)(1-t)^{-\theta}} +$
691 $\frac{1}{n} \frac{(m-1)(1-t)^{-\theta}}{t^{-\theta} + (m-1)(1-t)^{-\theta}} \frac{n-t}{t}$. We drop the terms which are $O(1/n)$ to obtain $1 + \frac{(m-1)(1-t)^{-\theta}}{t(t^{-\theta} + (m-1)(1-t)^{-\theta})}$. This simplifies to
692 $1 + \frac{(m-1)t^{\theta-1}}{(1-t)^\theta + (m-1)t^\theta}$. This is lower bounded by $1 + \frac{(m-1)t^{\theta-1}}{1+(m-1)t^\theta}$. Setting $t = (m-1)^{-1/\theta}$, we obtain a distortion lower
693 bound of $1 + \frac{(m-1)^{1/\theta}}{2}$. \square

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